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844 base. The cord was in former times planted with a seed yam
[824] and the spot marked. When the yam grew up it was pounded and given to the child to eat, in the belief that it would add to his strength. The stump of the cord is licked constantly for a few days by the midwife, who uses mouthfuls of hot water. No beliefs are attached to the placenta, which is buried at the
845 back of the house. Twins are not considered unlucky. Nor are
847 albinoes. But idiotic or deformed children were taken to the bush and abandoned. The mother's abdomen is swathed in
853 string bandages, which she continues to wear throughout the weaning period, the intention being to preserve the figure. She
[171] also keeps her body regularly smeared with red earth, as this is believed to be good for her milk. This custom is widespread in Nigeria, being found, e.g. among the Kare-kare of Bornu. The original object of the practice was probably to ward off evil influences, but it serves as a public announcement that she is weaning a child, an announcement which is advisable, as a
[833] woman may not have sexual relations during the lactation period, which among the Katab is reckoned as three years, a rule which must act as a check on sub-marriages.

553 A name for the child may be chosen by the father, mother, or relative. There is no fixed rule. A friend, or even a stranger staying in the house at the time of the birth, may ask that his name may be given to the child. Parents commonly confer the names of dead relatives, such as a grandfather or grandmother's or father's brother. Or the name given may have reference to some accidental circumstance at the time of birth. Thus a man called his daughter "Matan Malam", i.e. wife of a "malam"[1] because a "malam" was staying in his house on the day she was born. He called another daughter "Ladi" because she was born on Sunday.[2] One mother called her third daughter Kadayinkina, "You know I was right", as a reproof to a rival wife. Some common names are Ayashim (Friend of man), Tado (The Strong), Kaza (God), Duniya (Experience of the World). The name is assigned two days after birth without any ceremony. But if the mother had been unfortunate and lost a number of children previously, a ceremony accompanied by beer and prayers for the child's welfare would be held, the priest (Magaji Elenowum) being summoned for the occasion.

[1] A "malam" is a Muslim teacher. [2] Lahadi or Ladi = Sunday.

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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not 613 uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

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of the fact) and was publicly announced some three or four weeks later by beating the royal drum and summoning relatives from far and wide, goats being killed, and a feast held. These rites are probably a late importation from other tribes, as the Katab originally never had any chiefs in the present sense of the word.

It was customary in former times that eight days after the death of an old important man a human skull and the skulls of a buffalo, hartebeest, and roan (obtained from the priest of Elenowum) were displayed, one on each hut of the deceased's compound. This is interesting as showing that the skull cult was in some way identified with the cult of the dead, but the Katab are not able to suggest in what way. The skulls would not, they said, be put on the top of a house in which a woman was weaning a child, as that would cause the speedy death of the child. The widow goes into mourning, and, on the conclusion of her mourning, a feast is held, the skulls being returned to the priest of Elenowum.

The real funeral feast, however, must take place in the dry season, as it would be impossible during the rains to assemble relatives who were busy with their farming duties. The funeral feast is, therefore, held after harvest and lasts for two days. It is held not at the graveside, but in an open space in the village. The women of the town in which the old man or woman had died prepare the beer. The senior male relatives go to the *obwai* hut, and after a symposium accompanied by the beating of a double-barrelled pottery vase which emits a hollow deathlike tone they come forth and join in a general dance accompanied by drums, horns, and zithers (imported from the Bauchi Plateau). One of the songs sung at the dance is sung in Hausa, as the Katab say that none of their own songs are so euphousion :—

"Baban dorina, dama rua, wa ka shiga ?
(Mighty hippopotamus, disturber of the waters, who can enter there ?)
Dodon Gwari, giwa da ragama,
(Spook of the Gwari, elephant with a headstall)
Yayan Bakwa, suna hana giwa dawa
(Sons of the Hausa, who drive away the elephant)
Kajin giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Chickens of your household may they go and sleep in peace)
Akwian giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Goats of your household may they go and sleep in peace)
Yayan giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Children of your household may they go and sleep in peace)."

but subsequently spends three or four months "in her own home" (presumably her paternal compound? In societies where secondary marriage is common, a special connection with the mother, wherever she may reside, is usual, however).

According to Meek, co-wives of the father's mother attend the birth. The umbilical cord is severed with a razor, and was formerly planted with a seed yam which, when mature, was fed to the child: current practice is not stated. The placenta is casually buried "at the back of the house"; no beliefs are attached to it, according to Meek, but his diagram of a Katab compound shows that the mother's "bean-garden" lies at the back of her house. It was stated in 1921 that boys are circumcised at birth, but Meek does not mention circumcision.

Naming, usually a more or less casual matter, is performed two days after birth. If the mother has lost a number of children, the *elenowum* (presumably of the father's lineage) may at this time preside over ceremonial beer-drinking with prayers. Every child's uvula is clipped on the naming day.

According to Meek, the first child is taken when two months old to the home of the wife's parents who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. "Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father or brother, who then delivers him back to the husband, saying, 'Take this child in full payment of the labour which you [when a suitor] expended on my farm.' The second child has to be redeemed, at the present day, by a money payment of seven shillings, which is regarded as compensation to the wife's parents for expenditure incurred on her . . . trousseau. If the payments were not made the wife's parents could retain the child. . ." Meek does not indicate how the time of this ceremonial fits in with the return of the wife to her parents' compound for a period of months, as already described.

During the period of lactation it is common practice for a mother to cover her entire body and head with red ochre, to improve her supply of milk. Until the child is weaned, intercourse between mother and father is prohibited, this period lasting up to three years. Boys sleep in their mother's hut till they are five years of age, girls until they marry.

Meek writes of "adoption" among the Katab, which might be described more accurately as "sharing" or "lending" children, "to a respected paternal relative who has fewer children . . . or requires an additional worker on his farm. Male children are not handed over to a maternal relative in this way; but . . . a man has to ransom his second child [of whichever sex] by a money payment to his wife's parents. Female children are, however, sometimes handed over to the mother's parents; but when such children marry, the mother's parents are not entitled to receive the bride-price."

Initiation

There appears to be no record of circumcision among Katab proper. Tribal initiation, according to Meek, takes the form of initiation into the public cult of *obwai*,[34] associated apparently with the private ancestral cult, but there are no elaborate initiation rites. Children, presumably boys only, of four to eight years are taken to the *obwai* hut, warned to be obedient to their parents and given food. The short ceremony ends with a form of baptism in a stream, the smearing of the boys' heads with mahogany oil, and a feast in the village. Though it is not made clear, this initiation no doubt occurs at the appearance of the *obwai*. It appears that no personal insignia are issued to the individual, at this time, at least (contrast Kaje, p. 112 below).

Boys receive their facial markings later, "some years after they have begun to engage in agricultural work." Girls receive their markings in connection with their primary marriage (see below), probably at much the same age as boys, since girls marry very young. Marking is apparently done individually and without particular rites or ceremonies.

[34] See below, p. 79.

According to Temple, twins are considered lucky. An " unsound " child was drowned, at about the age of four years, " or sometimes later." Children are suckled two years, according to Tremearne, during which time the wife lives apart from her husband: during this period, in the case of the first-born of any union (see ***Marriage***, below), the mother resides in her parents' compound, according to Smith; and after its termination, towards the end of the dry season, she prepares beer for the annual *obwai* rites of her father's clan (see ***Burial*** and ***Religious Beliefs***, below).

Initiation

Boys are circumcised at about the age of eight years—whether or not ritually or in groups is not indicated. At about 10 years, apparently in groups, they are initiated into the *obwai* cult: according to Smith, each clan has its own *obwai* priest and shrine; whether any attempt is made to co-ordinate the initiation rites held by the different clans is not stated. Temple describes the initiation rites as follows (after Tremearne): " [The boys] are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed." During the course of their detention, the boys are told that *obwai* is a secret invention to discipline women, according to Smith. Revealing this secret to women was punished with death or banishment before Administration, and is still discouraged, though Smith states that " in 20th century conditions [*obwai*] does not command awe among initiated males, and has lost some former functions."

According to Temple: " The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age. . . ."

As already indicated, there is said to have been no special mark to identify a man who had taken a head, but, according to Tremearne, a man " was not supposed to have attained to the full dignity of manhood until he had killed someone " (see p. 96, above).

Marriage

Smith's analysis of Kagoro marriage is the most detailed available for peoples treated in this volume. An adaptation of his more complete account follows.

In general, marriage among Kagoro conforms very closely to Meek's description of the institution among Katab. Basically, marriage is virilocal, though a couple may share the husband's father's or husband's mother's brother's compound. Polygyny is permitted, that is, a man may support several wives in his compound simultaneously; a woman may have several husbands simultaneously, in fact, but her several husbands always maintain separate compounds in different villages, and there she " visits " them.[84] Marriage contracts may be classified as follows:

(1) Primary: bride is unmarried.[85]

(2) Secondary: bride has been previously married to any man other than (i) a fellow clansman or (ii) one in the ***niendi*** relationship.[86]

(*a*) By betrothal.

(*b*) By capture.

[84] Smith rejects the term *polyandry* as applying among Kagoro: however, *serial polyandry* seems to this investigator useful and meaningful in this situation, if it is made clear that divorce is not implicit in the term.

[85] *N.B.*, traditionally, no such thing as divorce existed among Kagoro.

[86] As regards marriage in general, relations between Kagoro clans (***kwai***) are classified as ***niendi***, or as ***nendwang***: a man takes his primary wife or wives from among the previously unmarried girls of clans that are traditionally in the ***niendi*** relationship with his own clan; he takes secondary wives from among the *wives* of men of clans in the ***nendwang*** relationship with his own clan and living in another village. (Close examination of Smith's report does not reveal whether women born into the same clan as his own primary wife, when married to men of clans ***nendwang*** with respect to the man's own clan, are excepted.)